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The Awakening Giant

INDIA, CHINA
AND THE U.S.

Richard Horchler

Two Reports on the Council

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END OF THE BEGINNING Gregory Baum

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THE COMMONWEAL

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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Midterm Verdict

THE BARE STATISTICS do not indicate it, but the result of the elections is being hailed, bemoaned or coolly judged, as the case may be, as a big Democratic victory and Republican defeat. One reason is that the outcome was considerably below Republican expectations for House and Senate and the proportion of state governorships. Another is that only once in the twentieth century, in 1934, the voter's first chance to register his opinion on the Roosevelt New Deal, did the incumbents do better in a midterm election, where the Administration usually loses seats in both Houses.

When the Democrats increased their representation in the Senate to sixty-eight, they attained a better than two-thirds majority. In the more strategic House that party's majority was reduced six votes by reapportionment and the election. But because some of the losers were Southern Democrats and the holders of a number of new seats California Democrats, the Kennedy Administration is believed to be three or four supporters better off in the House of Representatives than it was in the Eighty-seventh Congress.

Finally, there was the defeat of the four known members of the John Birch Society running for Congress, two of them incumbents from California, plus the downfall of such well-known extreme conservatives as Senator Capehart of Indiana and Representative Judd of Minnesota. The defeat of Richard Nixon for the governorship of California marked the probable end of the political trail for a Republican standard-bearer who only two years ago had come within a hundred thousand of President Kennedy's popular vote.

To balance all this were signs of Republican progress in the South (involving the welcome extension of the two-party system, if so far only in terms of choices between extreme conservatives). Most heartening of all to the Republicans were the victories of Scranton over Dilworth in Pennsylvania

and Romney over Swainson in Michigan, and the respectable if reduced Rockefeller margin in New York. Discounting the chronic impatience of voters with the governors of their states for not providing more services or reducing taxes, the G.O.P. believes that in the above-named it boasts a good crop of Presidential hopefuls. It must be remembered, however, that a shift away from the incumbents at midterm is normally essential for an overthrow in the next Presidential election.

WHAT ARE the Democrats and the Administration going to do with their victory involving such a good turnout at the polls? In many contests local issues and personalities were decisive, but the overall picture reflects popular support of, rather than opposition to, the New Frontier. One measure in the President's program appears fairly certain of enactment: Medicare, if in a less comprehensive and more universally palatable form.

Other leading objectives face a future which is much more problematical. Among these are federal aid to education, which is badly entangled in the religious issue, and the creation of a Department of Urban Affairs to help meet the increasingly urgent needs of our deteriorating American cities. The Administration itself has yet to advance a well-rounded program to overcome the stagnation of our national economy, while its not-unrelated tax reforms face continuing opposition.

Foreign aid can count on anything but clear sailing in the new Democratic Congress. The resignation of Fowler Hamilton after hardly more than a year as head of the Agency for International Development is one more sign of the difficulties encountered in operating this program, which potentially has much to contribute to the strengthening of the nations of the free world. The conviction grows that much has to be done to modify the program itself as well as overcome Congressional and popular opposition.

In general, the make-up of the new Congress indi-

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cates that at best the prospect for progress is only slightly improved. The House continues to loom as the chief stumbling block with such fixtures as Wilbur Mills of Arkansas as Chairman of Ways and Means and Howard Smith of Virginia as Chairman of the Rules Committee. Besides this there is the continuing alliance between Republicans and Southern Democrats which is certain to stand in the way of needed legislation.

Unless the President himself adopts a new tack, then, the American people can look for little change. His sure handling of the Cuba crisis has further enhanced his great personal popularity. But Mr. Kennedy can expect the enactment of little of his domestic and foreign programs unless both are more realistically drawn and unless by repeated pleas to the people he builds up a ground swell of popular demand that Congress cannot afford to ignore.

Chancellor Adenauer's Visit

HAD THE CUBAN crisis never arisen, the visit of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to this country would have appeared in a clearer context. Some weeks ago, in the pre-blockade days, rumor had it that the Russians were planning a major show-down in Berlin; hence, the visit of Chancellor Adenauer was seen as a helpful move to coordinate the German-American position before the crisis arose. But that was, indeed, some weeks ago. Since the Cuban crisis comparatively little talk has been heard of a final Soviet move in Berlin. In fact, recent Soviet statements on Berlin have been notably mild. At present no one seems quite certain what the Soviets will do next; it may even be doubted that Premier Khrushchev himself has a clear course of action in mind.

Given this uncertainty, Chancellor Adenauer's visit comes at a bad moment. If, on the one hand, there is now some hope for useful Soviet-American talks on Berlin, it seems apparent that the rigid, no-concession, no-negotiation stance of the Chancellor could be a major obstacle to such talks. Yet if, on the other hand, a crisis does arise in the months to come, it is important that a firm and solid front be established with West Germany. Unfortunately, no one knows what the future holds; thus the problem of dealing with the West German Chancellor is made all the harder.

No doubt it is useful to reiterate again to Herr Adenauer that the U.S. will honor its Berlin commitments; but that is not the problem. The problem is how best to prepare to take advantage of any future opportunities for fruitful negotiation with the Soviet Union. And this is not a question in which

the Chancellor can be expected to show great interest. Indeed, the Chancellor's recent political difficulties in Germany make it likely that he will be exclusively concerned with U.S. guarantees. Any talk of negotiation can only serve to hurt him politically.

In any event, the President has a delicate task on his hands. The temptation to shore up the Chancellor's prestige is bound to be a strong one. It is, we think, a temptation which ought to be resisted. A precipitate commitment to the Chancellor's known line of thinking could, in the cloudy days ahead, prove a very real liability.

Beyond the Law

SEVERAL occasions in the past week have served to call attention to the thorn in the side of American democracy. Speaking at the convention of the Negro American Labor Council, Mr. Walter Reuther reminded us that discrimination against Negroes was "the greatest gap between the noble goals of democracy and its performance." For by now it must be apparent to all that the American idea of equality is little more than a mask for hypocrisy as long as thousands of Negroes are deprived of the fullness of their Constitutional rights.

It is well to note that at the same time Mr. Reuther was speaking, the Supreme Court was debating the fate of more than three thousand "sit-in" demonstrators. Or, rather, what is at stake in this litigation is the legality of that kind of protest against segregation, and thus the fate of the entire "sit-in" movement. Yet as one New Orleans lawyer said about the movement, "this is not a protest to eat a hot dog with a white man. This is an effort to change attitudes."

For in a real sense the thing that is at issue in the Supreme Court and in the country at large is not merely the guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment, but the relation between the law and the mandates of social justice. For it must be plain by now that the law alone cannot secure the aims of democracy. The law can enforce desegregation, but it is powerless to achieve the desired integration. Hopefully, the crucial distinction between these two states has been realized by now. Yet there remains an alarming tendency on the part of the American people to depend upon the law to secure the fullness of democratic life to the Negro.

As to this point, it is well to mark the criticism of Dr. Paul A. Freund, the distinguished scholar of Constitutional Law at Harvard. Speaking recently, Dr. Freund warned us not to expect the courts to do our work for us in the field of civil rights and

ibilities. He said that because of inherent limitations on the courts as defenders of fundamental rights, "there are areas that must be left to the forces of community sentiment and public policy."

In retrospect, then, it was impressive that the federal government sent thousands of troops to see that one Negro student was admitted to the college of his choice. But in a larger sense that action could not make life in the University of Mississippi as gracious as it should be for James Meredith. In the North too there is widespread *de facto* segregation, as recent controversy in the labor unions has showed. Yet, to the credit of the labor unions, Mr. Reuther noted that in a few weeks' time one hundred and thirty-two international unions would sign an anti-discrimination pledge.

A decision by the Supreme Court to uphold the convictions of the Southern states against four students would be deplorable, then, not so much as a failure of the law to "do its part," as a block to the kind of community action which alone can bring about the desired state of affairs. For events are already proving such action to be ahead of the law:

In three of the six cities originally involved in the present litigation, lunch counters have been desegregated since the "sit-ins" began.

A Great Lady

ALL THE world mourned the death of Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt last week. A feeling of loss was as universal as it was deep, as the great and humble of the world paid their tributes to this great lady. Mrs. Roosevelt was indeed, as President Kennedy said, one of the great ladies in the history of this country. To many she was, in the words of U Thant, "the First Lady of the world." She laid claim to that title through her tireless work for the poor of the world and in the United Nations, whose Covenant of Human Rights she inspired. Her lasting monument will be in the hearts of men, and especially in that Parliament of Man for which she gave her final energies. It is well that Mrs. Roosevelt rests now beside her husband. May she have "a place of refreshment, light and peace."

Richard Horchler

India, China and the U.S.

*As the Chinese drive deeper into India, is it time
to re-examine our Far Eastern policy?*

"LET CHINA SLEEP," said Napoleon, "When she awakes the world will be sorry." He was right, of course. But it would seem that the world, for its own sake, ought to be something more than merely sorry.

In the past few weeks China has been prominently in the news. On Oct. 20, China launched a full-scale military drive against the long-disputed Sino-Indian border lands. Under the shadow of the Russian missiles in Cuba, and increasingly anxious for the future of West Berlin, the American people have not given highest priority to the Chinese invasion of India. Unlike Cuba, or even Europe, the Himalayas are far away. Thus China's aggression in various unpronounceable Indian states was not seen as threatening to U.S. interests; there seemed even to be a certain poetic justice in the shattering of Indian illusions about their Communist neighbor and in the fall from grace of the American

bête noir, Krishna Menon. There are signs, however, that the Chinese Communist attacks are now being taken more seriously. Ladakh, Bhutan and Assam are beginning to take their places in the everyday conversations of Americans, along with such formerly exotic place names as Inchon, Vientiane and Dien Bien Phu.

Ten days after the start of the Chinese campaign against India, the Soviet Union's annual proposal to oust the Nationalist Chinese from the U.N., and to seat the People's Republic of China, was again rejected by the General Assembly, and by a wider margin than last year. The vote was 56-42, with twelve abstentions; in 1961 it had been 48-36, with 20 abstentions. The U.S. government expressed its "gratification."

Both these events—the invasion of India and the success in the U.N. of the "American position" on Red China—are profoundly important, and they are linked in the most ironic way. The invasion of India's frontiers signaled the beginning of a new stage in the balance of

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power in Asia and perhaps in the world. Moreover, before this new alignment has worked itself out, the United States will almost undoubtedly be compelled to protect its interests in Asia with new and larger commitments of economic and military aid and—allowing for the inscrutability of Peking's intentions—possibly even with troops. The second event, in the General Assembly of the U.N., testifies that in dealing with the coming dangerous and swiftly-changing events in Asia, the U.S. will continue to burden itself with the pretense that the People's Republic of China does not exist; that for us, and ideally for the world, "China" is not the colossus of Mao Tse-tung but a couple of million aging refugees, and their leaders, whose rule extends only over about nine million reluctant Taiwanese. That such an anomaly should be the cornerstone of this nation's Far East policy seems, in fashionable Washingtonese, "counter-productive," to say the least. And that a plea for the prosecution of our Asian policy according to norms of reasoned self-interest should be considered "controversial" seems proof of the China madness which has for so long gripped the American public.

UNITED STATES response to dangers abroad tends always to be extreme, marked either by a refusal to believe bad news or by an elevation of each reversal to the proportions of complete catastrophe. Thus while our newspapers are in my opinion still—at this writing—undervaluing the importance of recent events in Asia, it would be characteristic for the present *sang-froid* to give way overnight to near-hysteria. If the Communist Chinese press deeper into India we can expect horrified word pictures of Chinese hordes rolling irresistibly down from the Tibetan plain, swallowing up the border states, overrunning the whole vulnerable Indian sub-continent. In fact, the dangers of the Chinese advance are real enough, but a nineteenth-century "Yellow Peril" nightmare is not large among them.

Peking has already secured territories of definite strategic importance (the pass from Sinkiang province into Kashmir, for instance) as well as value in terms of national honor and prestige. Undoubtedly these territories can and will be used to exert pressure on the Asian states they furnish access to, for as Mao has said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." But China will not be able to penetrate very deeply into India, for the simple reason that the U.S. and Britain will not permit this, even if it should mean the commitment of troops. Probably the Chinese realize this; let us hope they do.

The other advantages the Chinese Communists have won are not to be minimized, but there are factors for the West on the other side of the ledger too. China has enhanced its political strength throughout Asia; it has demonstrated to non-Communist states that they can no longer look to India for protection; it has displaced the

Soviet Union as the leader and guardian of Asian and perhaps African Communism; it has dealt India an economic blow which—if it were not compensated for—might well mean the foundering of parliamentary government along with the Indian economy.

But the Chinese aggression against India has initiated chains of reaction which are likely also to enhance the position of the West in Asia. Most importantly, the discovery by India in its hour of need that its only real friends were in the West is moving that still huge, still powerful, still influential Asian nation firmly toward the West. And despite the burdens of the military campaigns on the precarious Indian economy, the inevitable injection of aid from the U.S. and others, plus the vitalization of national mood by the new crisis psychology, may enable the Indian people finally to achieve their great leap forward by free and democratic means. Smaller Asian countries have been shown the impracticability of non-alignment in the face of Communist Chinese imperialism. Finally, the diminution of the U.S.S.R. as a force in South Asian affairs exacerbates Sino-Soviet differences and may lead to a revision of present alliances which would encourage the Russians to modify significantly their relations with the West.

BUT WHAT has all this to do with the defeat in the U.N. of last month's Soviet bid to seat the People's Republic of China? Simply that the U.S. campaign to keep the Peking government out of the U.N.—made unexpectedly easy this year by Afro-Asian reaction to the assault against India—has become a ritual which expresses the irrationality of dominant American attitudes toward China. That is to say, it is a ritual which demands adherence to a truth nobody any longer believes, a ritual of belief which is clung to all the more tenaciously as its falseness and irrelevance are exposed. This is not to say that the annual U.S. anathematizing of Red China at the U.N. might not be recommended by arguments of international statecraft. It might be; but the fact is that it is not. It is instead justified by the recitation of formulas which would be dismissed out of hand if they were applied to any other area of foreign policy—to our relations with the Soviet Union, for in-



unce, or with Argentina or Egypt or even Cuba. And the time has come when the U.S. can no longer afford such irrationality in its Far East policy.

Some of the arguments against the recognition of the People's Republic of China depend for their force on the emotional language in which they are cast. It is said, for instance, that the Chinese Communists must not be permitted to "shoot their way into the U.N." But if this expression refers to the fact that Peking came to power through the violent overthrow of an established government, as I presume it must, it describes the origin of nearly every government in the world, including of course that of the U.S. That Communist China is a totalitarian state, that it represses political opposition, that it is hostile to Christianity, that it is untrustworthy in keeping international obligations—all these and many similar charges are true enough, but they are true also of many other states we have found it to our interest to recognize and deal with—including, to greater and lesser degrees, some members of the so-called "free world."

Another charge, that Peking does not have the support of the Chinese people, is flatly contradicted by all the available facts. The Communist regime in China, from all we see and hear, is more firmly entrenched than ever. As for our commitment to Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government on Taiwan, two observations are in order. The first is that neither treaties nor governments are eternal, and after thirteen years we may legitimately wonder if a government has been supplanted. The second observation is that the extent of our commitment to the Nationalists is a matter of some confusion. Certainly the U.S. is bound to protect Taiwan and the Pescadores from Communist invasion, but "assisting" Chiang to retake the mainland and even the maintenance of Nationalist control of Quemoy and Matsu are not recognized today as obligations of the U.S. government.

The only arguments of substance among the usual points of "principle," I believe, have to do with Korea, where Communist China was found guilty of aggression against the U.N., and the clear record of Communist genocide in Tibet. Certain qualifications have been put forth here—for example, the fact that it was not China but Russia which was the original aggressor in Korea and that the Chinese did not enter the war until U.N. troops had crossed the 38th Parallel, which in Peking's argument made the "imperialist MacArthur" guilty of aggression. (The immorality of China's present occupation of Indian border lands—involving as it does a tangle of centuries-old claims and counter-claims—is not so clear-cut.) On the charge of genocide in Tibet, attested by an International Commission of Jurists, no shred of doubt or extenuation can be found.

But even accepting the seriousness of these counts, as we should and must, it seems to me incontrovertible that the question of recognizing the legitimacy of a

government, "good" or "bad" as we may judge it, depends on the facts of its establishment and viability and on the usefulness or not of the recognition of that government in advancing the interests of the recognizing nation. This is the level on which our relations with Red China must be discussed, but are not. Symbolic of the national refusal to consider this problem in the normal terms of foreign policy was the furor occasioned a few years back by the selection of recognition of Communist China as the official intercollegiate debate topic. The debate coaches were widely denounced, and the administrations at West Point and Annapolis—and a number of Roman Catholic colleges—forbade their students to debate this topic.

ALL THE FOREGOING must not be taken to suggest that I believe a change in U.S. attitudes toward Communist China would automatically solve our Far Eastern problems. The "hate America" campaign of the Peking government will probably be carried on, at least for many years, regardless of what we do or say. If we were to recognize the People's Republic, it is quite possible that Peking would refuse to recognize us—that is, would decline to establish diplomatic relations. If, as a result of a changed U.S. position, the General Assembly were to invite the Chinese Communists to take their seat in the U.N. (and surrender their claims to Taiwan), Mao and his cohorts might very well refuse contemptuously. And most certainly an alteration of present U.S. China policy would not mean that Peking would surrender its dreams and plans for an all-Asia Chinese Communist empire.

Nevertheless, with no illusions about what may be expected from the Communists in consequence of U.S. recognition, I am convinced that such action would be advantageous in terms of our, and the world's, best interests. In the first place, recognition of Red China would make possible the exchange of vitally important information. Even to wage cold war effectively, knowledge of the adversary is required. We have seen in the Cuban and Berlin crises how great is the danger of miscalculation by the Soviets—or us—of the other's true intentions and degree of determination, and compared to Mao Tse-tung's China, the U.S.S.R. is an open, Western-style society. As Peking hastens to develop a nuclear capability—which may be exhibited in a matter of months rather than years—the need for knowledge, on both sides, becomes even more urgent.

An offer to recognize the legitimacy of the Peking government, even if it were rejected, would at least shift the responsibility for the lack of relations from us to the Chinese. It would stop the Communist representation, in Asia particularly, that the People's Republic is the victim of American harassment and hostility. Such a step would also prevent the humiliation of a U.S. defeat in the U.N., and attendant recriminations with

our allies. This humiliation, leaving us the choice of walking out of the U.N. or sullenly yielding to the vote of the majority, might have come this year, if the Chinese attacks on Indian borders had not occurred when they did. And although the Sino-Indian conflict may mean the fateful day has been put off even for a few more years, there is no doubt at all that it will come.

It is true the attempt to regularize our relations with Communist China might not mean any improvement whatever in the character of our struggle in the Far East. Perhaps it should be said that a resultant improvement of this situation is not even probable. But at least such an attempt would make this improvement possible, as it is not under our present, totally sterile policy. Again, the presence of Communist China in the U.N. might accomplish nothing to further the cause of peace and justice in the world and might even distinctly impede it. But it is at least possible that Peking would be drawn into some kind of relationship with the family of nations, and might amend its aims and practices accordingly.

There are other considerations—all, like these, debatable—but these are the most obvious. What they and all the arguments for a radical change in U.S. China policy have in common, I believe, is an appeal to put aside myths and shibboleths in what should be the serious business of international politics. Those who call for an immediate revaluation of our Far East policy are most importantly urging that the United States at least be guided by a reasoned pursuit of its own self-in-

terest and that our government initiate policies to advance those interests, instead of waiting—too long—until reactive policies are thrust upon us by the actions of other states.

NOW, when Communist China is engaged in bloody conflict with our suddenly warm friends, the Indians and when the United Nations has just resoundingly rejected a resolution to admit Peking, may seem the worst possible time to open a discussion on the recognition of the People's Republic of China. Yet it may be argued that this is the best time for such discussion. The fighting in India seems already to be the starting point for a major shift in the power alignment in Asia and the coming weeks and months will offer the U.S. a precious opportunity to close the book on one unhappy phase of its post-war Asian policy and start afresh with one more realistic, and hence more likely of success.

Communist China, as is evident from the headlines, is fast emerging as an undeniably great world power, and the U.S. must cope with that fact with the maturity called for in the greatest power in the world. The American people, and their government, must accede to the truth that there are in the world some conditions and events which they cannot alter. There are others which they can alter, by political action or by force of arms. But wishing, despite the maxim, will not make anything so, nor will rending of garments, nor peremptory appeals to the God of our fathers (holding Him distinct from the God of *their* fathers). Even Canute in time, gave up his folly.

REPORT FROM ROME BY GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN

A Few Surprises

The clashes among the different groups have been obvious

MANY of the non-Catholic observers at the Ecumenical Council in Rome are surprised. They did not expect the internal disputes among the different groups of the twenty-six hundred bishops and religious superiors. They had imagined a huge body of yes-men obeying orders from above, a type of big Catholic maneuver organized in order to show the world discipline and totalitarian strength. Instead, the clashes among the different groups have been obvious right from the beginning, even to superficial observers.

To tell the truth, many Catholics are surprised too.

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And most of all the Catholics closest to the Vatican—the Italian Catholics who know Rome so well that they normally are never surprised by what happens there. At the outset most Italians, independently of their personal opinions, were rather skeptical. Nothing very much will happen, they said. Everything will more or less go on after the council as it did before. Now some of them are worried, others delighted.

Those worried are mostly the conservatives, the traditional right. Out of respect for the Pope they do not criticize him openly. But in private conversations they are all the more outspoken.

Those delighted are the Italians on the moderate left,

hose formerly so uneasy, the artisans of "the opening to the left," the left-wing of Christian Democracy. Things are happening which they could not even have dreamed of only four years ago. Breathlessly, they are watching what is happening within the Council and taking sides, naturally in opposition to the side taken by the conservatives.

Those bewildered are the Italian Communists. Their first reactions to the Council were ironical and critical, following the traditional line that the Vatican is nothing but an instrument of capitalist imperialism, reactionary and unable to renew itself. This attitude has now changed completely.

First of all, "the opening to the left" of Christian Democracy is threatening to isolate and neutralize the Communists completely, gradually abandoned as they are by their former Socialist allies, who are more and more attracted into the orbit of Christian Democracy. At this point there is no other way out for the Communists than to follow the Socialists and try to beat them in moderation. By now the old slogan that the Vatican is reactionary has an almost silly ring about it, particularly after the arrival of the observers of the Russian Church in Rome.

The Communists have therefore thrown themselves into the opposite direction. At the opening of the Council, the Communist organ *L'Unità* claimed in an amazing leading article that nobody understood the ecumenical spirit better than the Communists. Pages were devoted to the event in the Communist papers, and the comments were extremely respectful. In no time the Communists were taking sides too in the debates of the Council, quoting at length their favorite cardinals and bishops and emphasizing their claim to open-mindedness, deep culture and understanding for the age we live in. A few Communist veterans were disgusted at all this and grumbled about the betrayal of fundamental principles, but their voices were drowned. Now the Communists are even hinting that the Party is planning to publish an announcement concerning religion which will be a more or less definite disavowal of Lenin's famous principle that religion is the opium of the people.

WHAT are the groups within the Council in which everybody seems to be taking sides so passionately? Naturally no completely clear lines can be drawn. It is too early, and the line-up shifts depending on the different questions which are under discussion. But it is possible to give some idea of how the different nations are gathering—even if this necessarily has to be oversimplified and if provision has to be made for many exceptions.

First of all, there are the cardinals of the Curia, mostly Italian, known for their conservative and traditionalist spirit. It is no secret in Rome that most of

them were very much against the Council, which they consider as unnecessary and costly. They undoubtedly have long and valuable practical experience in running the Church's world affairs and they are well aware of it. One of them said recently to a distinguished visitor: "This Council is really a disaster. Tell me—who will now be able to keep all these bishops under control?"

The conservatives in the Curia are not isolated, and their allies are numerous and reliable. The majority of the Italian bishops, who are proportionally more numerous than in most Catholic countries, are included among their supporters. The same can be said about the Spanish bishops, with the exception of several in Catalonia, and it can be said of the Portuguese bishops, with only a few exceptions. Many bishops from South America are also of the same mind. In all, the Curia conservatives are an impressive crowd, not only because of their number but because of the prestige and authority of many of their leaders. Their group is backed up by Italian political conservatives, who are worried by the present trend and who economically represent a considerable power.

On the other side is what is currently called in Rome "the Franco-German axis." This group is made up of the majority of the French and German bishops and cardinals, gathering round them an extraordinary composite crowd of supporters. It consists of the majority of the bishops from the Benelux countries and, generally speaking, those who are in contact with the Protestant North of Europe and are thus familiar with its problems. To this group also belong the majority of the Polish bishops, with their leader Cardinal Wyszyński, and other representatives from the Communist countries in Europe, who have long experience by now of how to survive Communist persecution. In addition, the majority of the bishops and cardinals from the underdeveloped countries of Africa and Asia are close to "the Franco-German axis" in spite of their difference of origin and background.

The purpose of this more liberal group, which has proved itself to be very dynamic and well organized, is above all the internationalization of the government of the Church or the Curia—in other words, the end of the Italian predominance within it. According to their views, this predominance is not only anachronistic but clearly detrimental to the Church, or, as one of them rather bluntly put it, "It is a disease of the Church, a disease which must be cured, and cured as rapidly as possible."

The aim of this group should not be seen as discrimination against the Italians. They simply desire to increase the efficiency of the Curia by making its government more representative of the majority of Catholics, who are not Italians. We live in the age of the international organizations, the liberal group argues, and from that point of view the Catholic Church has an

advantage of some thousand years, but an advantage which could be better used than it is now. Naturally, a definitely internationalized Curia would mean a less conservative Curia, and this too is important.

IF CONSERVATIVES in the Curia represent traditional Latin Catholicism, the Franco-Germans represent a different kind of Catholicism, more akin to the Nordic brand, a Catholicism which has never completely lost touch with the Protestant world. And this knowledge of the Protestant world, plus the improved friendly contacts with it during the last years, has made the Franco-Germans keenly aware of its reactions to what is said and done during the Council. Therefore it is already clearly noticeable that the Franco-German group is against any action or statement which might have an unfavorable effect on the Protestants.

It is being said that there is a great invisible presence in Rome during this Council, and this is the presence of the Protestant world, which goes well beyond the different Protestant observers at the Council. In Italy during the past years it has often been said that the Church is suffering from something which has been called the "counter-Reformation complex" which has survived ever since the Council of Trent and now has no reason to exist. It is strongly felt here that this Council might mean the end of an era and the beginning of a new one in the life of the Church.

Here the American Catholics come into the picture, attracting much attention because the attitude of the American hierarchy may be of decisive importance. It has been said and often repeated that the Americans are the young giant within the Church, but that they are not yet aware of their strength. Will they be aware of it now and act accordingly? That is the question.

So far the general impression is that the Americans are "sitting on the fence." This posture does not seem to be a tactic, according to most observers, but looks rather like lack of interest in the crucial questions.

Here are a few typical comments regarding the American attitude made by non-Americans close to the Council. The most impatient say: "They have not yet realized what it is all about." Others say: "They agree with the Curia conservatives and think that the whole thing is unnecessary. Why all these heated discussions about things the Curia is able to decide on anyway? The Americans have been fighting so long for survival that they can't get rid of the spirit of obedience, the same spirit of obedience as officers have toward the General Staff—'orders are orders.'"

Naturally, in these discussions of the Americans, what is called "the Irish spirit" comes into the picture. How could it be otherwise? It is generously recognized that the Irish have been the saviors and builders of Catholicism in the U.S. The young giant's backbone is Irish. But is the Irish spirit now going to mean that the young

giant is taking sides in favor of the most conservative part of Latin Catholicism, together with the Spanish and Portuguese?

This is impossible, others will reply. The American hierarchy is the most modern in the world, the most efficient, the most aware of Protestantism too. Take its attitude on the relations between Church and State and its smooth relations with other denominations. Its natural place, they say, is within the Franco-German group. Yes, comes the reply, but the Americans are up to date only as far as technique is concerned, on matters of real estate, pressure groups, public relations, and the like. They are specialists, first-class specialists, admittedly, but like all specialists they are not really interested in essentials and principles.

These comments, of course, are those of representatives of the Franco-German opposition. Among the traditionalist supporters of the Curia, on the other hand the great hope is precisely the Americans. If the majority of the Americans could be won over, the opposition could be blocked and the Council could be reduced to a mere impressive pageantry, leaving things more or less as they were before. The tactic of the conservatives is therefore already clear: gain time.

So far the Council has hardly begun, and the most important items have not yet been reached. Many of the representatives of the Franco-German group cannot remain indefinitely in Rome; they are anxious to go home, whereas the Curia remains. The tactics of the conservatives are most elastic, and the Italians in the Curia are first-class diplomats. If that body is not internationalized now, it will remain until the next Pope, who may be less "revolutionary" than John XXIII.

There is an Italian proverb which can be heard again and again these days from conservative Italian prelates: *chi va piano, va sano e lontano*. He who goes slowly, goes well and far.

Autumn Day

(after Rainer Maria Rilke)

Lord: it is time. The summer has been long.
Lay your shadow upon the sundials now,
and on the open fields let the winds blow.

Command the last full fruits to quickly turn;
allow a few more summer days to urge
them to perfection, to run
the final sweetness to the heavy wine.

Who has no house will not now build one.
Who is alone will long remain alone,
will waken, read, and write long letters,
and restlessly wander up and down
the tree-lined streets when leaves are tatters.

ALAN GOLDFARB

End of the Beginning

Despite official secrecy, considerable information is available

IN ROME, for the Canadian and American, there is no way of knowing how the Council is being reported in the North American press or how the various ecclesiastical trends manifesting themselves in public are being understood by the people. In the first days of the Council, reporters feverishly sent their accounts to their newspapers or agencies, hoping that they would not all be saying the same thing. And not knowing how much of their material had been accepted by their American editors, they were never quite certain of what could be taken for granted as common knowledge and what would have to be repeated in a subsequent issue.

The N.Y. *Times*, *Herald Tribune* and some other secular papers, such as the *Globe and Mail*, which we were able to see here, gave the impression of being well-informed and judicious. In contrast, many of the religious publications we saw here did not really convey a meaningful picture of the events of the Council and of the various trends associated with it. Our impression was that the Catholic press in North America largely followed the official news releases of the Vatican press office, making no attempt to interpret the news in the light of first-hand information from Rome.

The official press releases have been quite scanty. This is not surprising considering that secrecy has been imposed on the general assembly of the Council. There were, however, other sources of information. The Roman dailies *Il Tempo* and *Il Messagero* carried detailed accounts of what happened at the general assemblies, and the average reaction of those who attended the meetings was that the information was, on the whole, reliable. In addition, French papers such as *Le Monde* and *La Croix* were also well informed and supplied, along with the news, an interpretation of events.

Despite the official secrecy, the account of what happened must have been made available to the press immediately after each session. Only once did the official news release correct the Italian press. While it had been reported that Cardinal Godfrey of Westminster had suggested to the Council that Latin be "removed" from the liturgy, the official news release emphasized that he had said nothing of the kind. The next day the Italian

press apologized: they had mistakenly rendered *levare* as "removing" instead of "elevating."

It is, of course, extremely difficult to get a balanced picture from the outside, but I imagine that even from the inside it must be hard to assess the trends of the discussion in the proper light. For one thing, it is not always apparent for how many of his confreres a particular bishop speaks. A vehement address may just express the personal conviction of the speaker. It is, moreover, impossible to know whether the proportion of speeches "for" and "against" a given issue expresses the proportion of the bishops at the Council favoring and opposing it. Nobody will know until the first vote has been cast.

According to the official news releases, the fathers have discussed the schema on the liturgy as a whole and have begun the discussion of various details. Strangely enough, however, the schema as a whole has never been accepted as a basis for discussion by vote. Is it worthwhile to discuss the details of a document when one is not quite certain of whether the document will be accepted at all?

Those who are close to the organizers of the Council claim that, by permitting the details of the schema to be discussed, the presidency has acknowledged, even without the vote of the fathers, the common conviction in favor of the document. From the official news release it appears that even after the discussion of details, such as the vernacular, concelebration, etc., no vote is taken, so that nobody really knows the proportion of bishops in favor of drastic liturgical reform.

As yet the long hours of discussion have not produced any definite results. If they have succeeded in generating a common conviction in the Council, this has been unable to find expression in a definite and definitive way.

MANY OF THOSE in favor of change and reform feel that this delay is a diplomatic move on the part of the Roman Curia. The delay would prevent the good arguments produced by the fathers from creating a consensus of opinion which would be expressed once and for all in a vote. Some, moreover, feel that the organizers of the Council are reluctant to face the fact that a vast number of bishops from all over the world are in favor of renewal and adaptation.

FATHER GREGORY BAUM, O.S.A., author of the newly published *Progress and Perspectives* (Sheed and Ward), is now in Rome as a theological adviser at the Council.

We touch here upon a most delicate issue. The procedure of the Council has never been clearly announced. Canon law and the special regulations which have been published leave a good many issues unsettled. No one knows exactly who determines the agenda of the Council. No one knows who lays down the order of discussion, who determines when the voting is to take place, and how the working commissions are to operate. No one is able to say what will happen next or at what office such information is available. Even the existing legislation of the Council is not regarded as binding; it has already been changed once or twice with the approval of the Pope but without the bishops being asked to cast their vote.

One reason for this vagueness is, no doubt, the need for great flexibility in the procedure. The amount of work to be covered is enormous. Until the end of October only a section of the liturgical schema had been discussed; and if all the schemata—there are over a hundred of them—should be discussed in the same way, the Council would last half a century.

That in such a situation the presidency asks for a flexible procedure is understandable. But it has never been announced that the matters we have mentioned are actually the responsibility of the ten cardinals who make up the presidency of the Council. This obscurity in the procedure leads to annoyance and lack of confidence on the part of the bishops. Everyone speaks about “they”: “they” have announced, or “they” have decided; or “they” have not yet made up their mind—and nobody knows who “they” are.

On one occasion—and this went quickly through the world press—the Council asserted its opinion independently of those who are organizing it. When the members of the working commissions were to be elected, the bishops demanded that the elections be postponed and more time given to get to know one another and to prepare lists of competent men. The request was granted, and the subsequent election four days later produced a truly representative body of bishops.

In connection with these lists something rather significant occurred. The various national hierarchies gathered and discussed whom they would propose for the various commissions. At first this practice was not really approved. It was feared that ecclesiastical positions might become associated with nationalities and that in this way national conflict might be imposed on the Council. This, however, did not happen. On the contrary, the central European nations made it a point to draw up lists which were truly international. They made it clear on this issue, and on several subsequent ones, that there are not, and never must be, national blocs in the Council.

The Italian papers did not fully understand this. They complained that the Germans and the French had created power blocs which had pushed some nations

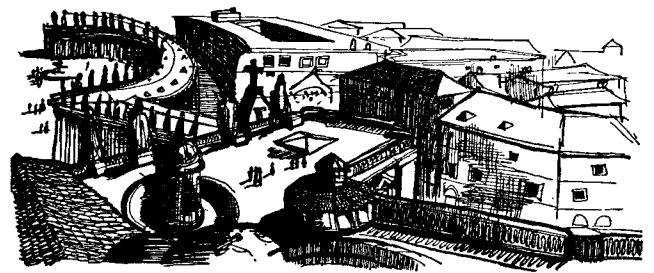
and disfavored others. *L'Osservatore Romano*, however, defended the election results as being truly representative of the Church universal.

THIS EMERGENCE of the bishops' conferences is of considerable significance. It is well known that the episcopal conferences in various countries have no legal status in canon law; they have no power to legislate and no authority to teach. It is normally presumed that they deal only with pastoral matters; their publications are purely hortatory in character. Many authors dealing with the renewal of ecclesiastical government, however, have advocated that bishops' conferences be granted the power which would correspond more truly to the place of bishops in the divine constitution of the Church. It is interesting, therefore, that at the very outset of the Council these national conferences of bishops emerged as the natural organs through which the universal Church determines its policies.

These episcopal conferences have remained active during the Council. For the greater part, they have set up secretariats in Rome through which meetings are organized at regular intervals. Sometimes the bishops meet to discuss the issues of the Council among themselves, and sometimes they invite theological experts to speak to them on various related topics. All this, it must be added, is free of nationalist tendencies. The conflict among European nations has not so far cast a reflection on the Council.

It is worthy of note that, quite apart from the general assemblies, there is a great deal of theological activity in Rome. Most of the better-known European theologians are present at Rome, either as *pèriti* (experts) appointed by the Holy See or as private theologians of their bishops. In the former case, they have access to the general assembly; in the latter, they merely have the use of the documents and the right to hear what happened at the assembly. It is unfortunate that many well-known theologians from the English-speaking world are not in Rome. Some of the hierarchies, that of England for instance, have brought along very few theological advisers.

The experts who are present in Rome are invited by various groups of bishops or even whole national hierarchies to lecture on questions related to the Council. Thus men like Cogar, de Lubac, Daniélou, Thils, and many other famous theologians have spoken before



large audiences of French-speaking bishops (including a large part of the Canadian hierarchy), and Rahner, Küng, Ratzinger and other equally familiar names have addressed the German-speaking bishops. Taken together, these theologians represent all the theological and ecclesiastical trends in the Church. Thus it is not surprising to see Monsignor Joseph C. Fenton and Father Jean Daniélou seated near one another in St. Peter's.

Thanks also to press conferences and receptions, even a person who has no access to the documents of the Council is able to detect the various tendencies among the bishops. The ordinary journalists, however, —especially those who have come to Rome without adequate theological and historical preparation—are almost incapable of understanding the significance of what they hear and see. Without bad will, through sheer ignorance, the most improbable stories get into the press.

But let me return to the emergence of episcopal conferences at the Council. This is a significant development since it has preceded the discussion of the collegial character of the episcopacy in the Council and thus serves as a natural introduction to it.

The English-speaking hierarchies (apart from Canada) have been much slower in getting together for common discussion and theological conferences. Some have only begun quite recently to invite speakers; others have not yet taken any steps in this direction. But for the national episcopacies who have no strong tradition of acting in common, the Council has proved a remarkable occasion for bishops to come together informally and to discuss what is of common concern to them. The climate of official bishops' conferences is often rather formal and the presence of the higher cardinals does not always encourage free discussion. Here in Rome, however, where freedom of speech in the assembly is said to be complete and unrestricted and where one gets used to hearing cardinals disagreeing vehemently with one another, the bishops live in an atmosphere which invites conversation and the free exchange of ideas.

IT IS WELL known that the schema under discussion now is on the liturgy. Is it possible to make any predictions about the outcome of the present discussions?

Here is a first observation. At one time it was believed that the bishops in favor of change and progress were concentrated in what the Italian press calls Central Europe, that is France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland. This common opinion was reflected in the *Time* article on the opening of the Council where we read of "a minority of liberal bishops."

In the course of the Council however, it has become evident that the bishops desiring change are by no means confined to a few countries. Judging from the

statements made by bishops in public, from press interviews and personal conversations reported in newspapers, it seems clear to the outsider that the group of bishops desiring liturgical reform is spread through the whole Church, on every continent and in every country.

The press reports on the opinion of South American bishops, bishops of India and Africa, bishops of Canada and the U.S. are a surprise to many. The members of the Roman Curia themselves may be surprised. Even if it is true that the reforming bishops are concentrated in central Europe, they are only one group among many, gathered from all parts of the world.

From the Italian press we also learn that even the Italian hierarchy is not united in the support of the members of the Roman Curia who advocate the *status quo*. The press reported that, at a meeting held shortly after the Council opened, the Italian bishops formed three groups: one conservative, one reformist, and the third a center party, each under the leadership of an Italian cardinal. The report added, however, that the conservative group was by far the largest.

A second observation refers to the position of the Pope. John XXIII is a great man with extraordinary personal charm, but from his public declarations it is almost impossible to know precisely where he stands. He seems to alternate between two positions, smiling first in one direction and then in the other.

One is tempted to conclude that it is the Pope's policy to keep a balance between the various trends in the Church by encouraging all of them simultaneously. In a way, this was known long before the Council. The Pope John who had made very outspoken speeches on the universality of the Church, the need for adaptation and the importance of stressing what is common among Christians, was also the Pope who signed the bull *Veterum Sapientia* which declared the ecclesiastical learning of our day to be wedded to Latin language and culture.

At the start of the Council, the Pope overwhelmed everyone with his opening speech on October 11 in which he aligned himself as never before with the bishops seeking reform and renewal in the Church. He declared that the Council had not met to discuss and re-define Catholic doctrine but to find formulations of this doctrine which would be meaningful to our time and pastorally more effective. The Pope suggested that, in finding this new way of speaking, the bishops should remember the quality of mercy which from now on was to adorn the ecclesiastical magisterium. The emphasis in the Council's elaborations should be on announcing, not on defending, the truth.

These words from Pope John were regarded by many as a criticism of the doctrinal schemata prepared by the theological commission under the presidency of Cardinal Ottaviani. The Pope desired that the stress be pastoral. It is likely that the papal speech greatly helped

to have the liturgical document put in the first place on the agenda.

After this strong gesture of the Pope in one direction, many were surprised by his choice of members for the working commissions of the Council. It had been announced that the different conciliar working commissions were to be made up of sixteen bishops to be elected by the Council and eight bishops to be named by the Pope himself. Of the election of the sixteen members for the different commissions I have already spoken. Yet when the papal appointments came out everyone was impressed by the large percentage of men connected with the Curia, especially with the Holy Office. The Pope, moreover, appointed nine bishops instead of the eight mentioned in the Constitution. This gesture has forestalled the sixteen members elected by the Council ever gaining a two-thirds majority over the members by Roman appointment.

Pope John, we said, is smiling in both directions. He again made a strong gesture in favor of the reformists when he elevated the Secretariat for Christian Unity, under the presidency of Cardinal Bea, to act as a conciliar commission during the Council—even though its constitution and membership remain as it was in the preceding period of preparation. The practical consequences of this step, which transcends anything provided for by the legislation, is that the Secretariat for Christian Unity is now in a position to submit schemata to the Council, to form mixed subcommittees with other working commissions, and to exert greater influence.

It may be mentioned in this connection that Cardinal Bea is one of the most popular figures of the whole assembly of Council fathers. He is admired and respected everywhere, even among those who do not agree with some of his tendencies. His voice carries considerable weight in the Council. Though he has been outspoken on many issues during the last years, his modesty, simplicity, and discretion, and his utter lack of rhetoric or even eloquence profoundly impress the bishops. If he approves of something, many feel, then it cannot be rash or unwarranted.

From these remarks on the alternating ways of Pope John, we may conclude that he is not likely to intervene in the course of the Council in favor of either side. He will back the bishops seeking reform and he will encourage the Curia seeking restoration. It must be admitted that in this situation his daring speeches lose some of their power; it is easy to shrug one's shoulders at what the Pope has said, since he is not likely to follow it up with strong action. It is not impossible, therefore, that many of the forward-looking ideas contained in the opening speech will go unheeded just as his constitution on Latin in seminaries will go unheeded during the Council.

The third observation I wish to make deals more directly with what the Council is likely to achieve in

liturgical matters. The official press releases do not tell us the precise subjects under discussion or the position taken by the various bishops who speak at the assembly. It has been suggested in the news releases, however, that such questions as the vernacular, concelebration and Communion in two kinds, have been the subject of debate; and from the well-informed Italian press it appears that the fathers of the Council are deeply divided on these matters.

The same press, however, reports that there is unanimity among the bishops of certain areas. It happens according to the Italian press, that a bishop will speak for all the bishops, or the majority of bishops of his country, in favor of the changes proposed in the document. It seems to me quite unlikely that such a unanimity of regional hierarchies, whether in mission territories or in the older so-called Christian lands, will be disregarded by the Council. Even if the fathers do not reach agreement on many issues dealing with public worship and therefore are unable to formulate a strong document on the role of the liturgy in the Church, I regard it as unthinkable that even a majority vote in favor of the *status quo* would crush the unanimous voice of bishops belonging to the same geographical area.

Councils in the Church are not parliaments in which a majority simply overrules the minority group. The Councils of the Church are regarded as holy assemblies in which the Holy Ghost produces unanimity among the fathers; and without this unanimity produced by the Spirit, even with a majority which would carry the day in any parliament, the Council cannot declare its position with confidence.

The voting in a Council does not itself determine the issue. The voting is regarded rather as a test and sign of unanimity among the fathers; and while a sprinkling of opposing voices might not be regarded as breaking the common conviction, opposing voices concentrated in certain areas and expressing the unanimous view of regional hierarchies would certainly destroy the unanimity required for strong declarations.

Thus one may conclude that even if the Council as a whole is unable to make up its mind in favor of a strong liturgical position, it will at least grant the requests of the regional hierarchies possessing a unanimous voice. That means there will be certain areas in the Church where the present liturgical uniformity will be broken and new forms introduced in public worship.

Even a fairly conservative document on the liturgy, which might discourage some who had looked for more, will introduce diversity into ecclesiastical life and liturgical practice. That, in itself, would be a victory for the movement of renewal. For myself, I believe that the movement for reform and renewal has gone so far in the Church that even a moderately conservative Council will further advance it and contribute to its spread among other nations.

THE SCREEN

Are Mothers Necessary?

‘ YOU EVER wondered, after Macbeth told his wife “bring forth men-children only,” just what kind of a mother Lady Macbeth would be, you can easily find it by watching Angela Lansbury in action as the mother in “The Manchurian Candidate.” Miss Lansbury plays this handsome, scheming woman with an intense vigor. Half in love with her own son, contemptuous of her current husband, an empty-headed senator, the ambitious woman dominates them both and is determined to get what she and her Communist bosses want. In a stunning portrait of a woman who has screwed her courage to a sticking place, Angela Lansbury is indeed frightening. But so is this whole movie.

“The Manchurian Candidate” is a strange movie, a curious mixture of science fiction, political satire, thrilling melodrama, grim irony, misplaced humor—with even a touch of romance thrown in. If the picture weren’t so well acted and so interesting cinematically, it would be little more than an ill-conceived thriller. But producers John Frankenheimer (who also directed) and George Axelrod (who also wrote the script from Richard Condon’s novel), have put together a spell-binding film.

Its main plot centers on an American sergeant (well played by Laurence Harvey) who is so brain-washed and hypnotized by the Communists in Korea that he still does their bidding back home two years later. He ruthlessly kills whomever they want disposed of. This story, entirely unbelievable, gets quite complicated when the Communist conspiracy involves people in high places, but some good movie-making and an outstanding cast succeed in giving the fantastic events a realistic tone. Miss Lansbury as Harvey’s dictatorial mother, James Gregory as her dim-witted husband, a red-hating senator who manages to win the vice-presidential nomination, Frank Sinatra as a major who has cause to be shocked by Harvey’s behavior, and Janet Leigh as Frank’s occasional girl are among the film’s assets. But for all its tense thrills and grim jokes, “The Manchurian Candidate” is a rather risky film, one that gives an even more sleazy picture of American mores and politics than “Advise and Consent.”

THE MOTHER of Baby June and Baby Louise in “Gypsy” is a strong-willed, domineering woman too—but perhaps all stage mothers are. Rosalind Russell plays the role to the hilt, displaying plenty of vitality and bullying as this tyrannical woman who’s determined to carve stage careers for her two daughters, especially June, the younger. But I wish the movie, made from the musical stage play by Arthur Laurents which stemmed from the memoirs of Gypsy Rose Lee, weren’t quite so

long. It shouldn’t take two-and-a-half hours to put over the message about this self-centered mother; and the film, directed by Mervyn LeRoy without great imagination, keeps giving illustration after illustration of the mother’s strident tactics to push her daughters ahead. Some of these illustrations have a nice nostalgic quality of the old vaudeville days, and some of the song-and-dance numbers put on by June and Louise and a bevy of boys gathered by mother are quite amusing.

Although it doesn’t mean to be, “Gypsy” is a rather sad movie. What this clawing mother does to these two girls is not exactly pretty. During the course of the long film, Miss Russell sings her songs well, especially “Small World” and “Everything’s Coming Up Roses.” She doesn’t have the brassy blare of Ethel Merman, who played the stage version, but the point of the songs comes across; and it is to the credit of the energetic Rosalind that she doesn’t reach out for sympathy. This woman, who insists she’s a mother first, is really a vixen who wants to be a mother only on her terms.

When Baby June grows up and walks out on her, she turns to Louise; and Louise, although realizing that June was always the favorite, tries to do her best by mama. Her best is becoming a burlesque queen. Natalie Wood comes through well in her impersonation of young Gypsy Rose Lee doing her strip act. This is not a nice story, but it is an interesting film—and its only conclusion seems to be: if one could skip mothers, one wouldn’t need a psychiatrist.

THE GIRLS in “What Ever Happened to Baby Jane” certainly need some kind of psychotherapy. Their mother was as shy and soft as David Copperfield’s, and their money-minded father was only interested in Jane, the pretty, simpering, nasty child star who became the sole support of the family. “What Ever Happened” is really a horror thriller. It quickly skips over the Baby Jane act, establishes the sibling relationship between Jane and Blanche, hurries through a few later scenes in 1935 when both the sisters are in the movies. At that stage, Jane (now played by Bette Davis) is a flop while Blanche (Joan Crawford) is big box-office stuff. An automobile accident cripples Blanche. And we are in the present with Blanche in a wheel chair, and Jane waiting on her, cooking her meals, and hating every minute of her confined life. Will Jane kill Blanche? The rest of this two-hour-plus film concentrates on that problem with as many gruesome touches as can be thought up for a thriller.

Producer-director Robert Aldrich allows overly made-up Bette to overact so outrageously, and unadorned Joan to underact so simply that the machinations become a travesty. But worse than that, the suspense incidents in the plot keep repeating themselves over and over until they drag—and one knows what’s going to happen before it happens. Victor Buono is effective in

the only important male role in the picture, but even this role becomes repetitious and finally almost pointless. Davis and Crawford have a field day romping through "What Ever Happened," but after the first hour you begin to wonder what ever happened to all these good film-makers to drive them to this.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

Remembrance of Things Passe

SCANNING BROADWAY, the eye of the ironist is immediately rewarded, filled, satiated in quick time: there is so much generosity. So far this season we have had plays of ideas in which no one thinks, comedies from which humor has meticulously been excluded, stars who are five-pointed disks of blackness, other-directed directors, sex without love, love without sex, and sex without sex. We have also had hit flops, like "Mr. President," which nearly everybody hates but which is sold out for all eternity, and flop hits, such as "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" which almost everybody admires but which is too "disturbing" and "negative" for the tastes of demos. And we have also had plays like "Night Life," around which the mists of irony swirl like complex and deadly gases.

During the intermission at "Night Life" a woman was heard to remark that Sidney Kingsley's drama was "simply too *avant garde*" for her. A female Rip Van Winkle, she must have awakened, at the sound of the curtain going up, from a sleep that began in 1925, or at the latest 1936, since "Night Life" is a stage work of such out-dated sensibility, exhausted rhetoric and antediluvian technique that to consider it advanced can have no other rational explanation. And Mr. Kingsley has surely shared the lady's sleep, his dreams filled with the early O'Neill, with Edna St. Vincent Millay and Maxwell Anderson, with the Group Theater at its ideological worst, with his own paleolithic "Men in White" and "Dead End" and with John Dos Passos' *USA*.

Mr. Kingsley's self-styled "new kind of drama" takes place in a microcosmic U.S.A., the "key club" in New York City. Now I have never been inside a key club, but I do not believe that Kingsley has been inside one either, unless he spent part of his long sleep there. For one thing, I happen to know that such establishments have girls, in bunny or other costumes, and there just aren't any tomatoes, except customers, to be seen in this one. And for another, it doesn't seem likely to me, no siree it doesn't, that a key club should be the arena where the most pressing personal, national and universal problems are thrashed out, made to yield up immense

rhetorical and dramatic consequences, and ultimately resolved.

Even so, how ineptly is the implausibility put forth how primitively does Mr. Kingsley's sad, arrested sensibility and gelid craftsmanship, which have been superseded by a dozen more pertinent kinds, arrange the evening's procedures. The single two-leveled set filled with Representative People—a ferociously ambitious labor leader modeled on Jimmy Hoffa, a lawyer whose idealism has been shattered by the world's corruption and the H-Bomb, a lesbian movie queen, middle-aged couple who are discovering terrible things about one another, various personages identified in the programs as "Frenchie" and "gigolo" and "Harry's girl" who pullulate and mill around and interrelate and have empathy and rapport, or show us that they lack them.

The dramatic focus—and this is one of the purportedly new dramaturgical elements—continually shifts, in Kingsley's hunger for "totality," from one character to another, from one characterological nexus to another, the utterances move from unfelt dialogue to equally unfelt and pretentious asides and spoken thoughts, the tone from bawdy to bloodthirsty to earnest to mystical to melodramatic. Throughout, a pianist knocks off pop or blues melodies joined occasionally by a girl singer and once by the entire clientele, which does a very energetic twist—all this constitutes the other piece of theatrical trail-blazing. In the end everything is set right: the labor leader is revealed in his True Colors, the lesbian gets her Comeuppance, the lawyer has his Faith restored, the couple is reunited in Death, and Mr. Kingsley has conquered the darkest, most complicated and multifarious America.

Most of the reviewers who had qualms had then about Kingsley's structure, i.e., his admittedly brilliant inventiveness was thought to result in something not quite coherent. But it was generally agreed that he has a fine ear for speech (examples: "You battled your way to the top"; "You're a worthy antagonist"; "Deep down inside, as a human being, you're . . ."), a profound awareness of psychological truth (viz.: the movie star is asked about her suicide attempt: "Why did you do it? You have everything."), and the keenest sense of contemporary anguish coupled with the wit to express it (*ecce*: "We can't get through—words don't mean anything any more." And "I don't want kids because I have a vision of a man with a pointed head pressing a button and my children frying.")

I am not ordinarily for the young on principle, but a play like "Night Life" next to, say, "Virginia Woolf," cries out for a generation to get the hell out of the way. Kingsley has every right in the world except one to feel the way Ibsen did when he wrote "The Master Builder." What disqualifies him, of course, and leaves him wholly naked to the onrushing juveniles, is the fact that he was never Ibsen. He was only Elmer Rice. (*At the Brooks Atkinson*)

RICHARD GILMAN

Along the Roman Catholic Main Line

The Catholic Church in a Changing America. By Francis J. Lally. Little, Brown. \$3.75.

by Martin E. Marty

THE UNITED States was until recently a Protestant or at least a non-Catholic country. It is not now and will not foreseeably soon become a Roman Catholic nation, so far as its ethos and general spirit are concerned. But on its soil the Church has grown from insecure immigrant status to a position of great size and influence. The non-Catholic climate has been strangely congenial to the development of Catholic institutions and piety, despite certain repressive measures in the past. But if the nation was "Protestant" and will not become "Catholic," it is a pluralistic society. This means that according to the consensus of the people and the law of the land, any number of religious groups may move with freedom here.

Catholicism must learn to reckon with this pluralist society. The Church must realize that it cannot live an internal private life, unmindful of the "image" it casts across public institutions. It must revise its patterns of action and thought in order to profit from and serve the new kind of setting which exposure to the modern world presents. The Church possesses the assets of doctrine, liturgy, piety, and organizational strength to do this; it must be prodded away from the last memories of the ghetto complex, to move with freedom in this new world.

If this is in broad outline the thesis of *The Catholic Church in a Changing America*, few people, the author least of all, would argue that it is really novel. The terrain is familiar and has been dealt with in more detail by others. What is significant is the source and orientation of the book. Monsignor Lally, editor of the *Boston Pilot* represents a new type of Catholic figure in America. He is not and does not want to be known as a "liberal" Catholic, somehow suspect as an innovator. Yet he repre-

sents official Catholicism in a great number of public affairs groups and is a familiar figure at interfaith discussions. The accident of alphabet which places us next to each other at some of these has served to teach me that in Monsignor Lally we have a frank, frontal, and friendly representative of a mainstream Catholic position which has shown a real

consolidation of gains in recent years.

He sees the election of 1960 as the turning-point from a "Protestant" America; the symbolism of that campaign removed the last real reasons for Catholics to feel insecure and defensive. Yet his book still reflects some of that "will to belong"; in a brief historical section he takes pains to identify Catholicism with many of the really significant turns in the American past (the Revolution, religious liberty, etc.). This compulsion is countered by an equal concern with measures which did limit

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Catholics, and he regularly speaks
of it as a minority group. "By 1960
the Catholic Church . . . had become
the largest single denomination in
America. . . ." It had, a century ago.
Can one slice the cake of belong-
ingness so as to have it ("we were
there") and to eat it too ("we want
the luxury of the minority, having
been only at the edge of things")?

Monsignor Lally's coverage of the
1960 campaign is accurate and fair.
He does not accuse all Protestantism
of identification with the "Peale-
group," who, mostly men of the polit-
ical right, met in Washington to op-
pose a Catholic candidate. On the
other hand he minimizes the more
important issue of the Puerto Rican
bishops' opposition to a candidate
there, even though their opposition
was accompanied by threats. His
treatment of the issues in the "edu-
cation issue" leaves much to be de-
sired from the viewpoint of most
Protestants, but is what has come to
be recognized as "the bishops' line"
and on this touchy subject we would
not expect a new departure.

As a primer for Catholic and non-
Catholic alike, the book is a useful
indicator of advance along the
Roman Catholic main line. Its am-
bivalence toward the part Cathol-
icism played as influence and as
minority in the past is the book's
only major fault, though one could
also wish for more discussion of the
meaning of pluralism, its problems
and potentials. Still, it is good to
have the Monsignor around. He is
clear, open, articulate, without being
either indifferent or concessionist. A
person always can know where Mon-
signor Lally stands; better yet, one
can know where he is going. And,
if one reads him regularly and care-
fully, one may have some idea where
American Catholicism is going.

Urgently Pro-Life

*One Hundred Dollar Misunderstand-
ing.* By Robert Gover. Grove Press.
\$3.95.

by Nat Hentoff

THE stunningly honest core of
Robert Gover's first novel is Kitten,

a fourteen-year-old Negro prostitute.
Half of this mocking morality tale is
told by Kitten in an extraordinarily
pungent idiom which is based on
Negro street argot but has been
shaped by Mr. Gover into as richly
individualized a curve of spoken
rhythms as has appeared since the
equally unique and equally believ-
able ruminations of Holden Caul-
field.

Kitty's casual but persistent ex-
pletives—scatological and sexual—
could by themselves propel a large
posse of vigilante censors; but for-
tunately Grove Press has now won
enough substantial legal cases in
this area to permit Kitten's earthi-

WHO

slaughtered the Holy
Innocents of Bethlehem?

WHO

was a zealous builder, a fine
diplomat, a brilliant general,
a violent despot?

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led a full and fascinating
life, with Julius Caesar,
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less fairly unimpeded access to our bookstores. As mesmerically molten as Kitten's language is, however, her primary importance is a result of her ingeniously sane perspective on the way we are now dying.

Kitten is no gold-hearted, romanticized prostitute. Fiercely intent on her own survival on her own terms, she is usually buoyant but she is also pragmatic and unsentimental. Above all, she is urgently pro-life. To her, sin is self-deception and the self-corrosion which follows.

By contrast, there is the nineteen-year-old, white college sophomore, Jimmy, who tells the other side of the story in alternate chapters. Gover has failed to make Jimmy more than a straw foil for the vividly rounded Kitten. He is so flatly predictable in his middle-class hypocrisies and utter lack of understanding of his own impulses that he is only a hollow caricature.

Nonetheless, Kitten's reactions to dominant middle class values as represented by Jimmy do turn into a stinging bill of particulars on our incapacity to know who and why we are. At one point, for example, Jimmy is glued first to a TV western and then to a symposium on peace-through-nuclear-strength (a position he supports with the automatism of the country at large). Kitten is so disgusted by the barely concealed, twisted violence and looming frustrations of the white world as she sees it that in an exasperated attempt at exorcism, she destroys the television set.

Jimmy, however, remains; and throughout the book, neither he nor Kitten is able to make basic contact with the other because Jimmy has long been frozen into his life role of mechanical man.

The plot concerns Jimmy's first venture into a Negro brothel, his meeting Kitten there, and the tangled events of a weekend he spends with her. To Kitten, the price of the weekend is the one hundred dollars she has seen in Jimmy's pocket. She also hopes that Jimmy may eventually turn into an "investment" for her—an off-hour regular visitor whose fees will not have to be shared with the management.

Jimmy, however, thinks Kitten has

become attracted to him for his own resplendent qualities, and he is shocked and aggrieved when the bill is presented. His attempts to avoid paying form the basis for the book's highly kinetic story line; but the resolution, however outrageously satisfying, is of minor significance against Kitten's accelerating realization that Jimmy's vacuousness and self-ignorance are incurable and that the criteria of the white world (and of the increasing Negro middle class, she will also discover) are suspect and dangerous.

At the end, Kitten is still a prostitute although about to take a sabbatical to get some education. Her own beleaguered way of surviving and her inordinately narrow scope of knowledge are not set up as desiderata for her or anyone else. She does, however, have a much more healthy and viable base on which to grow than the Jimmys of our time. And it is this distilled life force in Kitten which makes *One Hundred Dollar Misunderstanding* so invigorating—if perhaps, for most of us, so vicarious—an experience.

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NOVEMBER 23, 1962 235

Some Forward Steps

Modern Church Architecture. By Albert Christ-Janer and Mary Mix Foley. McGraw-Hill. \$9.75.

by James R. Mellow

MR. CHRIST-JANER and Mrs. Foley begin their book with a rather sobering estimate: within the next ten years, in the United States alone, an estimated thirteen billion dollars will be spent by religious congregations for new church buildings. Their book, which is in itself a plea for better building, surveys some forty modern churches, seminaries and monasteries. It is a thoroughly welcome and useful guide for the layman. Not only is the book liberally illustrated, containing a concentrated history of modern church building from Perret's Notre Dame de Raincy of the 1920's to Breuer's recent church for St. John's Abbey, but it includes a wealth of useful information as well.

Wherever possible the construction costs of the buildings have been provided and various sections of the book illustrate the use of the new materials—reinforced concrete, structural steel, laminated wood—which have made radical changes in design and, in some instances, more economic construction possible. The section on Catholic churches includes a discussion of the liturgical revival and its encouragement of new architectural concepts to meet new liturgical requirements. Each of the Protestant denominations is treated separately, with a brief religious history of the denomination and some analysis of its differing religious principles as they relate to architectural needs. In many instances there are statements by the architects and reports by the clergy.

For speculative reasons, these statements of clergymen form some of the most interesting reading in the book. From this sampling, one would judge that there is far less hostility to modern design in

churches than one would have supposed and that whatever reluctance a priest or minister might encounter on the part of his congregation can be overcome with patience and intelligent discussion. In some instances there was ready approval and even encouragement of contemporary design. Another striking feature, as reported by some of the clergymen, was an increase in membership once the new church had been built. In some cases, this increase was among the younger generation—always, one assumes, a hopeful sign.

That contemporary design is more acceptable in churches today may well be another phase of the cultural boom. Up-to-date congregations or energetic young clergymen may want to make their mark upon the community in much the same way that big business has found it advantageous to clothe the corporate image in structural steel and plate glass. Contemporary architecture is a sign of being "up with the times."



MORTE D'URBAN

A NOVEL BY

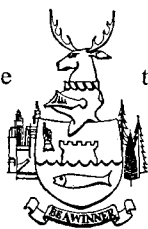
J. F. POWERS

"**Morte D'Urban** is the book for which J. F. Powers' many admirers have long been waiting. It should delight them and increase their numbers."—*Evelyn Waugh*

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"Mr. Powers has done something amazing in this age of



the symbol—brought off a genuine character, an entirely original protagonist . . . **Morte D'Urban** is a very funny book in the way that life is funny if it doesn't break your heart."

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These, of course, are sociological observations. The real need for new concepts of contemporary church building in the Catholic churches to be erected in the next ten years are the liturgical requirements; the need to promote a quickened sense of the liturgy, to bring the action of the Mass closer to the congregation. Some of the most absorbing sections of this book deal with the expression of these needs in a series of stunning churches, ranging from Perret's careful use of a new building material in Notre Dame de Raincy to the radiant clarity and joyful decoration of Matisse's chapel at Vence. The longest analysis of a church is that of Le Corbusier's chapel at Ronchamp, solid, reflective and full of mysterious warmth. It is the rightness of these buildings, not their modernity, which sets the example and which, we hope, will help to prevent, in the next ten years, the raising of more Gothic piles—those tons of expensive masonry resting on thick interior columns that obstruct one's view.

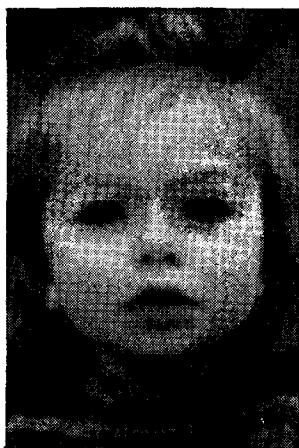
An Inner Journey

More Lives Than One. By Joseph Wood Krutch. William Sloane Associates. \$5.

by Walter Arnold, Jr.

MR. KRUTCH has written his own autobiography. That alone should be enough to distinguish *More Lives Than One* from the recent cascade of life-stories told second-hand. Yet, as Mr. Krutch would have it, the only claim his book can make is to record a life which, while it may not be exciting to many, has usually been interesting to himself. That would indeed be reason enough to read this book. The pleasure it will give those who do, however, is out of proportion to any such argument.

More Lives Than One tells the story of at least two. It chronicles a public life, marked at crucial points by distinguished writings. But it also sums up a lifetime of reflection upon man and "the human condition." Anybody who, as H. L. Mencken wrote of Krutch, had "come all the way from Tennessee to civilization in



Sappho Skyanotis is 4½. She is so small, so young, so frail, she seems not quite real. If there are plans or hopes in her mind, they are for an end to the hunger pains in her stomach.

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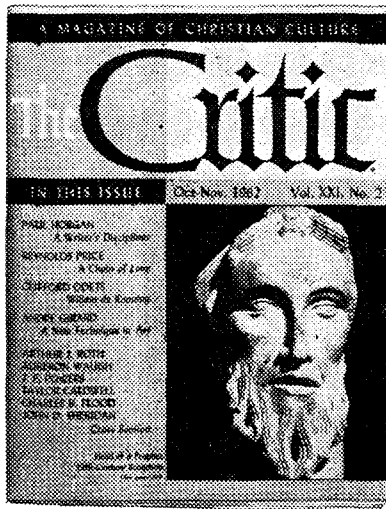
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one generation" and who, as teacher, critic and journalist has played more than a non-supporting role in the drama of the Twentieth Century, deserves, and holds, the readers' ungrudging interest. But Mr. Krutch's is also the absorbing intellectual history (to borrow a phrase of his) "of a man who *has* one." *More Lives Than One* is written with grace and good humor abounding and with that evident relish for the *mot juste* that his readers have come to expect.

Joseph Wood Krutch was born in Knoxville, Tennessee in 1893, according to his birth certificate, "white, legitimate, alive." He attended the local schools and the University of Tennessee, where he indulged equally a talent for mathematics and a desire to shock his long-suffering teachers.

Although his earliest inclination was toward the sciences, his conversion to literature (through a reading of Shaw's *Man and Superman*) was most natural. For he was convinced early of the crucial distinction between the scientifically Knowable and the Unknowable, which, curiously, literature seemed to penetrate. At any rate, the young Krutch persuaded his parents to send him to Columbia's Graduate School of English and Comparative Literature, where he specialized in the history of drama.

Krutch had been a regular theatergoer from five on, and the drama continued to hold his loving, if at times rebelliously critical attention. After an unhappy start at teaching, he "fell into" a job as drama critic and miscellaneous reviewer for *The Nation*, a post which he occupied from 1924 until 1952. At that time a feeling of "diminishing returns" from both the contemporary theater and the city prompted his "retreat" to Tuscon, Arizona, where he has been writing the nature books which have brought him such merited praise.

Nevertheless, *More Lives Than One* is filled with reflections upon the theater and theatrical associations which should delight the interested. For, along with his post at *The Nation*, Mr. Krutch found time to occupy with distinction the Brander Matthews chair of dramatic literature at Columbia.

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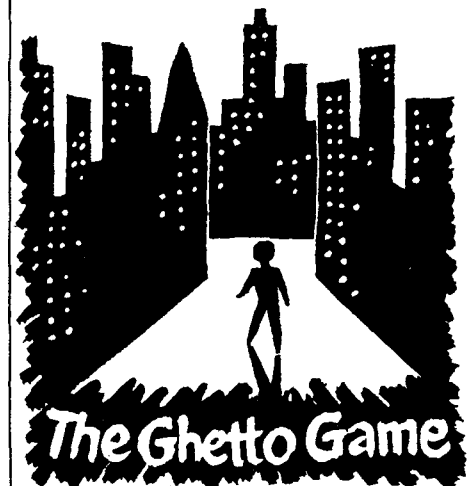
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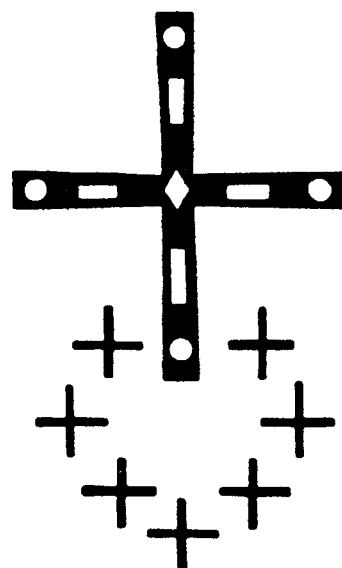


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For over the years Krutch has nourished a growing sense of man's oneness with nature (as he put it so charmingly to the Connecticut Spring peepers, "We are all in this together.") and, at the same time, of his spiritual destiny, revealed in the experience of a joy which cuts clean through "animal faith." It is Krutch's chief concern now that man will recognize himself for what he is, lest the whole of the modern world become "a disaster with fringe benefits." *More Lives Than One* stands as a graceful testimony and pledge that it will not.

Walter Arnold, Jr., is assistant editor of The Commonwealth.

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